1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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closely paralleling that of their Hindu neighbors. On the other hand, their social organization is relatively lacking in the cleavages of caste which are so prevalent all about them. Apart from the village, which is usually composed of a number of patrilineal kin-groups, territorial organization is weakly developed, and the tribe as a whole has never been politically unified so far as historical records indicate.

Even as a unique people the Santal merit special attention. Numbering today over three million, the region they occupy contains the richest deposits of iron, coal and other crucial industrial minerals in all of India. The chief source of their livelihood, at least since the nineteenth century, has been settled agriculture. Prior to the nineteenth century, hunting was also an important livelihood activity, but the great increase in the region's population and subsequent reduction of forest areas has made game extremely scarce; it is now difficult for the inhabitants even to obtain materials for fuel and building purposes. Though the chief source of food and cash is the annual rice crop, a few vegetables are also grown and some fruit trees maintained. Some villages are near enough to a river for fish to be readily obtained, while some villages stock their local ponds. Even prior to the introduction of modern industry in the region, the Santal had ceased to be economically independent. Although they once did some pottery making, weaving, and even iron smelting, they have come to rely almost exclusively on various local Hindu castes for these material products. Women from several low Hindu castes are used frequently as midwives. While almost no Santal are ritually served by Brahmin priests, itinerant Hindu holy men (*sadhu*) visit many Santal villages, consulting horoscopes and offering prayers for a fee or donation.

Most Santal are still agriculturists, but some have turned to

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
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177 Although the Santal used to do some weaving and pottery-
439 making, they have traditionally obtained almost everything ex-
[286] cept foodstuffs and a few forest products from neighboring
[323] tribal or Hindu peoples. Even the drums and the flutes which
[534] are so integrated in the "pleasure" complex are invariably purchased from Hindu specialists. Furthermore, elite borrowings have often become "naturalized," i.e., accepted as Santal and then widely adopted so as to close the gap. Nevertheless, emulation of Hindus did not always go unnoticed and it will be recalled that there is evidence of resistance to such Hinduization.

177 The many Hindu cognates in this text give some indication
197 of the extent of linguistic borrowing. Only a few Santal kin
[601] terms are of non-Indo-European origin, and the system of
[614] dyadic relations among kin is very much like that of the Hindus; one of the largest clans, Hansdak', has a name clearly of Indo-European origin (*hans* = duck in Santali and Hindi), but one also notes the syncretism with the non-Indo-European
[538] (*dak'* = water in Santali). Even parts of the Rāmāyaṇa are sung in Santali and on occasion the Santal are allowed to enter the tale. Considering the prevalence of "parochialization" and "universalization" in India,[20] it is possible that some of what is common to the two cultures is of Santal origin. But the heavy incorporation of vocabulary clearly of Indo-European origin suggests that the flow was largely from the Hindus to the Santal.

177 Prior to industrial employment in this century a small cul-
178 tural gap separated the elite and common Santal. Though there
184 was some differential emulation of Hinduism it was largely of isolated traits which often became naturalized, and the basic "pleasure" orientation of the Santal was hardly altered.

[20] Marriott 1955:211.

[P. 44 is blank]

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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checks the free passage of an air current. The note produced can be varied within harmonic limits by the action of the lips. The Santals have string instruments also. In their instrument only one string is used which is of gut. The frame-work of it consists of a box-like resonator, hollowed out and covered with goat skin. This goat skin is fixed to it by means of small pins of bamboo. The string is attached at one end to the neck and at the other to the distal end of the resonator. The string has a tuning peg and a wooden bridge for regulating its tension. The dancing-drum (Tumdak) has a slightly conical body of burnt clay; the body is covered with patches of strips of bullock-hide wound tightly round it; both ends are covered with skin, the broad end generally with bullock-hide, the narrow end with the skin of goat. Both ends are laced with strips of bullock-hide, stretched from end to end close together. These strips make the instrument much stronger, and they are placed close together to prevent the clay body from being easily touched The ends are given a rim of boiled rice spread over the surface in circular form, often painted black with a red and white ring outside. The Tumdak is carried over the shoulder in leather thongs, the broad end always to the left side. It is drummed with the hands, the broad end with the left hand and the narrow end with the right hand.

534 [533] [239] [323] [237] [531] [482]

Dancing :- The Santals love dancing very much and every evening the boys and maidens gather on a reserved open space in front of Jog-manjhis house for dancing. Males and females both dance together, though at times they dance separately. The maidens during dancing smooth and adjust their long hair and

535 [301] [302]